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Ex-President Roosevelt's Services to the Cause of World Peace.

The book of the services to the cause of world peace of Theodore Roosevelt, as President of the United States, is now closed. What has the record been?

There are two radically opposite views on the subject. Not a few hold that what he has done has counted for nothing in the real progress of the principles of peace, but that the spirit of his Administration from first to last has gone in the direction of the militarization of the nation, and that certain official acts of his, which have resulted in special accomplishments in the direction of peace, have been performed, not at all from love of peace, but either under the compulsion of public opinion or for spectacular effects. The other view is that Mr. Roosevelt has been the one peacemaker of the world; that he has done more for the advancement of the cause than any other living man, possibly than all other living men; that his passion for a big navy has been at bottom only a passion for peace; and that his services in this direction will be recognized and honored when the peace societies, the peace congresses, etc., have all been forgotten.

It is needless to say that we agree with neither of

these views. They are both extravagant. The fact, however, that they exist in such a pronounced form is evidence that there was ground in Mr. Roosevelt's general attitude and his official acts for both of them.

The important services to the cause of peace which Mr. Roosevelt, either directly or through Mr. Hay and Mr. Root, rendered during the seven years of his Presidency may be set down as follows: The securing of the reference to arbitration of the claims of various countries against Venezuela, when the three European powers were blockading the Venezuelan ports and attempting to collect by force sundry unverified claims of certain of their citizens; the bringing of the Hague Court into operation, with the coöperation of Mexico, by the reference to it of the Pious Fund dispute, when it was understood that the newly established tribunal was being boycotted by the European powers; the initiation, at the request of the Interparliamentary Union, of the second Hague Conference, and the prominent participation of our government in the Conference; the bringing together of Russia and Japan for the ending of the great struggle between them; the exercising of considerable influence on France and Germany in bringing about the settlement of their Moroccan difficulty through the Algecirias Conference; the friendly visit of Secretary Root to the South American capitals; the initiation of the Central American Conference in Washington, through which the Central American International Court of Justice was established; the effecting of the agreement with Japan, setting forth the peaceful intentions and policies of the two governments on the Pacific and in the Far East; the remission to China of a portion of the Boxer indemnity; the earnest efforts made by him to control and suppress the anti-Japanese feelings on the Pacific coast; the arrangement for reference to the Hague Court of the Newfoundland fisheries dispute; and the conclusion within the past year of no less than twenty-three treaties of obligatory arbitration with other powers.

No other Administration in the history of the country has had to its credit so many important practical contributions to the cause of international friendship and peace as that just closed. Some of these must, of course, be credited not primarily to Mr. Roosevelt, but to the two great Secretaries of State on whose initiative they were done and by whom they were carried out. But they all had the approval of the President and could not have been carried out without his hearty coöperation. Their credit, therefore,

goes to his Administration. It must not be forgotten, however, that in the case of all these accomplishments many other factors were working in addition to the personal forces of the President and his two Secretaries of State; for the peace forces of the world are now very numerous and powerful, and their existence and constant pressure make it easy for the head of a nation to do what he otherwise could not do, or even think of doing.

Of most of Mr. Roosevelt's peace accomplishments this journal spoke with sincere appreciation at the time they were done. It is not necessary to repeat what was then said. We wish to add a word in regard to one of the most recent of them, of which we have not yet said anything. We refer to his efforts the past winter to counteract the growing anti-Japanese feeling on the Pacific coast and to prevent legislation inconsistent with our treaty relations with Japan. Both from the point of view of justice and humanity and from that of international obligation, Mr. Roosevelt's position on this matter was eminently just and wise. As the Chief Executive of the nation, it was his duty to bring every legitimate influence to bear to prevent State legislation inconsistent with our treaty obligations to Japan and therefore essentially detrimental to our national honor.

These efforts to secure justice to the Japanese, to ward off national dishonor and to prevent the breaking down of the friendly relations which have always existed between Japan and our country, we are inclined to reckon among the purest and noblest services in the field of pacific internationalism which Mr. Roosevelt performed during the entire seven years of his Presidency.

We wish that what we have so far said were the whole story. If it were, Theodore Roosevelt would be entitled, without question, to rank as the foremost practical peacemaker of our time. But unfortunately there is another side. And it is what he has done in the opposite way which makes it impossible to take at their face value his performances in the direction of peace, whatever the motives behind them may have been. Mr. Roosevelt has been the chief of the big navy promoters. In season and out of season, from the moment that he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy, more than twelve years ago, he has, with every device of speech and argument, urged on the increase of the navy at no matter what cost. Into his big navy propaganda has gone the very passion of his soul. He has confessed time and again his love of fighting. He has urged universal rifle practice in the schools and elsewhere, that the people may all know how to shoot straight. He has frequently spoken in an insinuating way of other nations, as if they were little more than a lot of brigands lying in wait to pounce upon us at the first opportunity, and that therefore we must be armed to the teeth to be ready for them. His messages

have bristled with his military and naval views and feelings.

Without repeating in detail the criticisms which we have been obliged to make from time to time upon his views and policies, it is enough to say here that the Administration of Mr. Roosevelt has in our judgment broken down in large measure the historic policy of the nation in regard to armaments, the breach in which it will take a long time to repair. It has left us a burdensome navy, much bigger than is needed for national defense or the protection of commerce under the present conditions of the world; it has stimulated naval growth and naval rivalry in other countries; it has strengthened the hold which militarism, with all its crushing burdens, has upon the European countries; and it has, hence, made much more difficult of solution some of the most important problems with which the third Hague Conference will be called upon to deal. All this is most deplorable.

It is all the more painful to have to enter this judgment when one remembers the long list of excellent services to the cause of world peace recorded above.

We do not wish to be understood as holding that Mr. Roosevelt's services to the cause of peace have been rendered valueless by reason of his erroneous policies and his destructive work in the opposite direction. They have been weakened and rendered less effective, but not destroyed. They have contributed much to the strength of a great and growing cause, for not only the ex-President himself, but also the whole nation, was behind them. What he has done to foster and give a new lease of life to militarism will all be undone some day. It will perish with the evil and waning system of brute force for which it was performed. But what he has done for international justice, friendship and peace will live as long as the nation lives, as long as the world stands. It will go into the larger and better world life of the future—the future which is already assured. For the efforts of no man, of no set of men, of no nation or group of nations even, however powerful he or they may be, can long withstand the oncoming tide of international friendship, fellowship and peace which is soon to sweep over and subdue the whole earth, and banish war and all its deadly instruments, however big and well constructed they may be.

The British Two-Power Alarm.

Nothing could more completely demonstrate the delusion, the absurdity and the utter folly of militarism than the present panic in England. This panic has been "coming on" for a good while. It has followed the increasing rivalry in warship building between Great Britain and Germany. At last "An Englishman's Home," a third-rate play, written by a Frenchman and performed